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831 person to another in sexual intercourse. If a sick woman has intercourse
753 with a man she gives him her sickness because, in native theory, her secretions
833 (*vale uu*) enter into his internal organs by absorption through the penis. Diseases that are spread in this way are mainly swelling in various parts of the body, but pains in the stomach and other minor ailments may also be communicated. A married couple with children rarely have intercourse within the sleeping house, not because they object to the children's seeing them, but because of the danger in possible contact of the child with secretions on mats, which would give the child illness and limb swelling.

834 Various terms are applied to individuals who show peculiarities in sexual behavior. An impotent individual is a *tangata maluaka*, which also means a person lazy or slow in economic activities. A man who changes mistresses frequently is a *tangata maka wawine* (thrower away of women). It is said of him: "I te wakapau wawine" (He is a woman waster or finisher). An over-sexed man or woman is *nio toto* (bloody teeth) or *kai vaka* (canoe eater). Of the promiscuous (*wia eia*) woman it is said: "Ko tuku wua i tona wu yaka yua" (She places her vagina at anyone's disposal to be poured into). A husbandless woman who runs after married men is *lakau taetae* (stick or penis gatherer). A man or woman who settles down after a period of freedom to a monogamous existence is described as *na wiu* (having had enough).

839 Perversions, in the sense of sexual practices that take the place of sexual intercourse, are probably unknown in Pukapuka. This is without prejudice to acts or feeling attitudes that may accompany ontogenetic character development in the strict analytic sense but which, even if they occur, may not
838 properly be classed as perversions. There is no word in Pukapukan speech
159 to indicate homosexuality, nor could informants say that it ever occurred. At present there is one youth in Yato village who is said to *wakawawine* (be like a woman):

[521 461] Between 16 and 17 years old, he appears fully developed physically but has a rather effeminate high-pitched voice. He wears men's clothes. He does not stroll about the village as do other young men who congregate first in one open house, then in another, for gossip. He keeps very much to his own house lot, where he is often in the company of women. He performs general women's work, makes plaited and beaded objects, sews more than is usual for a male, and cooks. He also does a little men's work, fishing, nut gathering and husking, and sennit making. He occasionally wrestles with other men but does not participate in most sports. Peculiarities in his behavior are noticed by fellow villagers but not commented upon openly. He still attends school and is popular with his schoolmates. He showed the greatest possible reserve in our presence and we were unable to become friendly with him.

832 There is no evidence of the use of love magic. Informants with whom
833 the matter was discussed thought the idea absurd. Their attitude was that it was not difficult for any man to secure a mistress; there was then no use for special magical techniques. With their concept of sex as a play activity,

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not hereditary. Each practitioner started afresh. Induction into the ranks came through dream experience, believed to be given the man by the god of his lineage. The dream (*miti*) was either of a medical nature, or in some other way made plain that the dreamer was chosen by his god to cure sickness. In some modern dreams recounted in Pukapuka, the lineage gods as causative agents were succeeded by European doctors of medicine. An example of this is the following dream recounted by a native doctor:

> One night I had a dream in which I was taken to a *tole maki* (hospital). It was in Tahiti, I think, though my body was in Pukapuka. I saw two *tuunga*[1] *maki* (doctors) in the room. One man, who was the chief, was standing beside a bed, the other man was leaning over someone lying on the bed. The one leaning over the bed straightened up as I came into the room, came close to me and said, "Come with me, e toku mouli (O pupil of my eye)." Then we three approached the bed. The chief doctor said to me, "I will show you how to treat sickness. I will show you all the parts of the body, so you will know what sickness is." Then the doctors showed me the two methods of *lomilomi* physical therapy. They cut open the body and pointed out to me the various organs, told me of the sickness affecting each part, how this sickness could be diagnosed, and how treated. These doctors were white men. After they showed me everything, they told me to go back to Pukapuka, but to dream of them any time I wanted assistance. I woke up in a normal condition, wondering why I should have been selected for this dream.

This informant had several dreams in which he has both procured status from, and asked information of, white doctors when called to treat sicknesses he could not understand. He did not use any technique to have these dreams. The old pattern was evident in the feeling of the initial dream that further contact with the source of inspiration could be obtained when meeting with unfamiliar types of sickness, though the medicine man of old consulted his lineage gods in every case of sickness brought to him, whether familiar or not.

For his services, the medicine man was paid whatever the patient thought fit. A small food gift was usually sufficient. He received ample recompense for his trouble in the social prestige that accrued to him as a prominent individual of the community.

CAUSATION AND TREATMENT

For treatment in former days, the sick person sent for or more frequently went to the house of the medicine man, who questioned the patient about the sickness, the location and nature of pain. After the first diagnosis the medicine man consulted the gods of the lineage or the special gods of medicine by whom the sickness might be cured. Communication with the gods was held in the house of the medicine man and in the presence of the patient, or in the god house of the medicine man if he were at the same time a practicing priest. The technique of communication was by the pigeon-

[1] The Pukapukan word *tuunga*, cognate of Maori *tohunga* (expert), is now applied to white medical specialists. It was formerly not used in reference to priests, seers, or medicine men but was an ordinary adjective denoting skilled, expert, applied to any other art or craft.

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861 socialized have been confined to generalized statements about weaning and pre-puberty. These two periods are undoubtedly two formalized crisis periods in the life of the Pukapukan child. But there are others as well that are common but which probably have a differing impact, depending somewhat on obscure factors in the life of this particular Pukapukan child or that. Study of all the behavior records collected by direct observation of Pukapukan children in a wide variety of situations suggests that the most frequent of these stresses in the socialization process order themselves into the following rough and non-exhaustive classes: behavior difficulties over weaning; behavior stresses through discipline; behavior problems in adoption; fear situations of various kinds, such as fear of objects, fear of ridicule; aggressive behavior in the effort to control objects; aggressiveness towards siblings. It will be worth while to characterize these difficulties in some detail in order to illustrate both the situations that give rise to frustration and the behavior that is typical of the Pukapukan child in these circumstances.[4]

159 Two observations will serve as examples of weaning stresses. These and other observations throughout this section are given in the form of field note records.

862 Mata, a childless married woman is minding her sister's baby, William (0:8),[5] for the day while his mother works in the taro gardens. The child is soon to be weaned and has already started to eat taro and nuts; Mata's keeping the child for a whole day is part of the weaning process. The child gets restless and fretful, so Mata picks it up in her arms and rocks it violently, cuddling it fiercely, bumping it about and patting it with no gentle hand. To soothe the child further she gives it her dry breast to suck. The baby sucks hard and then when he can get no milk, he stands up, suddenly bites Mata's neck. Then he returns to her breast and ends by giving her nipple a severe nip with his teeth. Mata slaps the child on the head. The child cries hard, throws itself about in her lap. It is given some coconut flesh to eat but continues to whimper for some time thereafter.

152 Liaki (1:3) is the youngest of six children living with their unmarried mother. He walks but is not yet completely weaned. His mother is just recovering from a chill and fever. She tries not to let Liaki have the breast because she fears her fever may have made her milk bad for the child. She puts Liaki to sleep on the section of the sleeping platform occupied by his sisters. He repeatedly gets up in the night, however, crawls over to his mother, cries loudly and tries to get at her breast. He is crying this afternoon. His mother tells me she has again tried to put him to sleep without breast

124 [4] The material on children given here is summarized from specific observations made throughout our Pukapukan fieldwork on thirty-one children in Yato village, the village in which we lived. This is more than half the children in the village between the ages of six months and twelve years. The children studied grouped themselves in age grades as follows: under 1 year, 4; 1–2 years, 4; 2–3 years, 4; 3–4 years, 5; 4–5 years, 4; 5–6, 6–7, 7–8, 8–9, 10–12, 2 children each. Twenty-two of the children were male, nine were female. There is no reason to think that this group as a whole (and its age distribution) does not represent a fair sample of Pukapukan children—except for the fact that an ideal sample would demand approximately equal sex representation. Specific personal taking of these thirty-one children was, of course, supplemented by more casual observation of many children in our own as well as in the two other villages on the atoll, together with long discussions with informants over childhood problems. One of us, it should also be noted, could use the Pukapukan dialect with sufficient confidence to make the native language the means of communication with both children and adults.

[5] Figures in parentheses after names indicate the child's age. A figure before the colon indicates years; one following the colon, months.

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159 feeding. Each time she puts him down, he sits up, cries and crawls onto her lap. Kneeling in her lap
862 he tries to grasp her breast. She pushes his hand away. He rolls onto his belly on the ground, kicks
152 his toes into the sand for a few minutes and then falls asleep. Whenever he is seen these days he is playing continually with his penis. Sometime later, when he wakes, his mother puts him outside the cookhouse. The railings of this are too high for him to climb over. He finally succeeds in entering the house by bending back the screen-mat tied to the railings, poking his head through a gap in the railing and tumbling into the house headfirst. His mother says he always enters the house in this way, "just like a baby getting born." She says weaning time is hard for the child. He cries all the time because he cannot get what he wants.

861 Discipline of children is secured in two ways: either by physical punishment or else by threats designed to arouse fear in the child. Discipline-frustrations are of the following order:

[863] For bodily hygiene: as soon as a child is old enough to walk, an older person, either parent or sibling, leads it to a proper place outside the house. A child old enough to be about by itself is expected to leave the house to attend to its bodily needs. Should it fail to do this, parents scold, threaten to whip and often do whip the child across the buttocks.

Physical punishment: A mother sends her son (12:0) to feed the family pigs. The boy goes off in the right direction but stops to play a game of marbles. His mother keeps her eye on him, continually calling out to him to get along to the pigs. After about half an hour, with the boy still playing marbles, the mother asks a man going in that direction to bring the boy back to her. The man carries the boy back on his shoulders. The mother puts down the infant she is nursing and whips the boy severely with a coconut leaf switch. A group of her friends sit around unconcerned. The boy finally runs from her into the house where he picks up an empty coconut and hurls it at his mother. It goes wide. His mother pays no more attention to him. Crying, the boy rolls on the ground for a while, then goes off to feed the pigs.

869 Threats: Parents threaten toddlers by telling them that animals, e.g., pigs or ducks, will get them if they disobey commands, or else that ghosts will eat them. Ghost threats are common at nightfall. (Fear of supernaturals is very strongly grounded in Pukapukan psychology.) Spitting or pretense of spitting at misbehaving children is also a common method of discipline.

673 In connection with all types of discipline the eldest boy in the family has special privi-
865 leges and powers over his younger siblings. He may whip his younger brothers or sisters if they disobey any of his commands.

152 Aggressive behavior towards younger or older siblings of the same or opposite sex appears to be common in Pukapuka. According to one excellent informant most children were unhappy if there were no younger brothers and sisters in the family. When her eldest son was about eight years old, he asked his mother to give birth to a sister for him. His mother said she would and when she later told the boy she was pregnant, he was very happy and assured her many times that she was going to bear a female child. According to his mother this boy never showed any jealousy towards his younger siblings while they were still in-

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fants but when they reached the age of two or more years and began to run about he would become angry with them and very aggressive in their presence. Two examples will again show the form in which this aggression expresses itself among children.

Pita (10:0) has a drinking nut which his two younger siblings, Talatini (8:0) and Langatila (3:6), wish to share with him. Langatila grizzles and cries at his brother while Talatini struggles with Pita to secure possession of the nut. Pita fights him off with one hand at the same time swallowing the coconut water as quickly as possible. Then when the nut is nearly empty he throws it on the ground and walks off. Talatini picks it up and goes to crack it open. Langatila cries harder than ever. Pita comes back, picks up a coconut switch and beats Langatila with it. Pita says he does this "without reason, just for fun." He goes inside the house and finds Langatila there. He whips him again, continuing the whipping as crying Langatila first climbs a house post unsuccessfully trying to escape the punishment, then slips down the post and falls on the ground. He finds a coconut spathe there and tries to hit Pita with it. While this is going on, the father of the two boys comes into the house. Langatila without a word to, or a glance in the direction of, his father slips out of the house and walks away to the beach, muffling his sobbing as he goes. The mother of the boys has been in the cookhouse next door throughout this scene, within easy hearing range, but she has not bothered to interfere with this aggressive behavior.

The second example shows this sibling aggression in another context. The children of Pulotu are sitting on the beach eating their food. Ngatokalua (5:0) is crying. His elder sister Nunui (12:0) volunteers that she has just whipped him. After a while Ngatokalua stops his weeping, turns to Nunui and calls such insults at her as "stinking vagina." Nunui slaps his face. He repeats the insult and this time Nunui hits him hard across the mouth with her hand. He begins to cry once more. Nunui meantime has been minding her still younger brother (1:3) who is fretful and troublesome. She makes a slip knot in a coconut leaflet, slips the noose over Liaki's penis and pulls the leaflet so hard that Liaki falls to the ground. Nunui then tries to rock Liaki to sleep by cradling him in her arms and manipulating his penis. When she thinks Liaki is asleep, she carries him towards the house but Liaki wakes and cries out. Nunui runs back to the beach carrying the crying Liaki suspended by an arm and leg. She runs down to the sea, playfully dips Liaki's head under the water, then sits down on the sand and begins her rocking of Liaki all over again. Tinomana (2:6), another brother, comes up. He sees his younger brother being rocked to sleep. He picks up a long coconut midrib from the beach and makes as if to hit Liaki with it. He ends by pounding the midrib against a log of drift wood, then holds it up in the air, shouting out that it is his spear.

Frustrations arising from a conflict of loyalties consequent upon adoption would seem to present major difficulties in the lives of many Pukapukan children. There are two types of adoption in the culture: complete adoption and partial or feeding adoption. Complete adoption involves change of residence and change of patrilineal descent. Feeding adoption usually involves change in residence but never change in descent line. To show the incidence of Pukapukan adoption it may be noted that of 348 persons included in a household census, 80 (22.9%) have at some time been completely adopted. Of 209 persons of a generation below that of mother and father in the households, 43 (20.5%) are completely adopted, 13 (6.22%) are partially adopted. Adoption of both types, therefore, has involved over 25% of the individuals in one generation-stratum. The motives for adoption are both personal and eco-

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597 nomic. The personal motive is the desire of a childless man to ensure the continuation of his patrilineal descent line; economic incentives include the desire of a childless couple for the food shares and property that an adopted child brings into the household, or for someone to care for them in their old age. The range of possible relationships between adopting parent and child is almost infinite. Study of census material, however, shows that adoptions by maternal and paternal relatives are almost equal; the father's sister, mother's brother, and mother's father are likely to adopt more frequently than any other relatives.

597 The process of complete adoption generally begins with the bespeaking of a child before
[731] its birth. The adopting couple feed the mother from the third month of pregnancy onwards.
553 They present her family with special food gifts each time there is a food division. They
851 name the child and provide the birth feast, taking formal possession of the child at weaning. This method of pre-natal adoption is looked upon as the best method of ensuring complete social and emotional control of the child. A divided loyalty in the child is looked upon as fatal to the complete success of the economic and psychological security desired by the parents. On the other hand it is recognized that adoption at a later age gives the parents a chance to evaluate the capabilities of the adopted child. Hence some parents favor a partial or feeding adoption at the beginning: the adopting parents take the child at weaning time into their household; if at a later date they wish completely to adopt the child, they do so by mutual arrangement with the blood parents, accompanied by a renaming of the child.

597 All our Pukapukan informants sensed the conflict situations involved in this extensive
828 practise of adoption. The adopted child is considered to be the child of the adopting parents
577 in everything except the accident of conception and gestation, though the fiction is that the adopting parents become sociological parents before birth through their pre-natal feeding of the mother. The adoption is held to break all kinship ties based on blood and new kinship obligations are established according to the relationships of the adopting parents. As the child grows up, however, he soon learns to know his blood parents. He may be permitted to visit them, to work with them, to care for them in sickness, but it is to his adopting parents that the child owes primary social and affectual obligations and on whom he is supposed to lavish all his interest and support. Because of the complete sociological break that adoption is supposed to occasion, the conflict situation which blood parents, either through motives of natural affection or economic advantage, may stimulate by encouraging their child to visit them, by petting him, lavishing affection over him, saving choice food for him, is regarded with dismay and hostility. Blood parents who in any way try to revive blood ties are regarded as black traitors. If a child shows more than a formal interest in his blood parents, the latter are expected to show in every possible way, even by resorting to violent whippings, that the child is unwanted. Similarly, adopting parents are justified in severely disciplining an adopted child who persists in sneaking off to a blood parent's household. The following examples will illustrate these points:

577 Lina (7:0), the adopted child of Mata and Leleu, comes back to Mata's house from working
159 in the bush with Leleu, eats some food, throws off his lavalava and then starts to walk down the
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599 village path in the direction of the next village where his blood parents live. Mata screams after the
159 boy to return immediately; then noticing he is not paying any attention to her, she runs after him.
132 She comes back driving the crying boy in front of her with heavy blows from a thick stick. Lima runs into the house and Mata barricades him inside, telling him not to try to move from the house on pain of another beating. In explanation of this scene, Mata complains that Lima slips away from her house as much as possible, visiting his blood parents by preference. She is enraged with the boy [839] and takes a long time to calm down again. Lima, incidentally, is forever pulling at his penis and masturbating. Mata is almost the only Pukapukan parent who is worried by this. She does not allow Lima to go naked as do the other boys of his age but keeps him dressed in the lavalava skirt. It is perhaps significant that Lima tossed aside his lavalava before trying to steal away from his adopted mother's house.

597 . . The second example of frustration is more indirect in that it refers to the reaction of a
154 child to other children in the household who have been adopted, but it provides a case of play
857 behavior that is clearly symbolic and probably only to be intrepreted in terms of a deep-
159 seated conflict over being a member of a household in which the adopted children enjoy a favored position.

Ta (7:0) is the youngest of eight children. He lives with his now elderly parents who have adopted their two grandchildren (Ta's niece and nephew) into the same household. The parents give all their favors and affection to their adopted grandchildren. Ta is obviously unwanted in the household. He is an unsmiling, lonely child, hanging precariously onto the fringes of a gang that has no particular welcome for him. On this occasion he was seen playing marbles with two other boys and a girl, the oldest of whom was four and a half years.

Ta drops out of the game. He strolls off into the bush but is soon back again with a long narrow immature coconut. He cuts a nick out of the center bottom of this nut with his knife and says, "This is the penis of my child." Then he turns the nut over and makes another nick saying, "This is the hole of the anus for defecating." Now he scratches a few rough marks on the nut to represent eyes, nose, and mouth, and lays the nut down on the ground. He says his child has lived for one day only and is now dead. He says he is going to bury the child. (But for adoption, Ta's nephews, whom he now calls "brother" would be called "son" or "child" by him.) He begins to dig out a hole in the ground with a coconut shell. The other two boys now drop their marble game and join in the burial play. When he has finished digging, Ta goes off to find some "mats" for his corpse-child. He brings back some large dried leaves which he carefully wraps round the child. The three boys now place the corpse on strips of coconut leaf and lift it up to place in the grave. As they do so, they fumble. The corpse drops off the leaves onto the ground. Without comment, all three boys kick the corpse and hole to pieces, trampling on both with their feet.

While his two friends begin other games, Ta picks up a small piece of coconut wood and starts to cut out what he calls a coffin. He whittles away for almost an hour, carefully shaping the box and hollowing out the inside. From another portion of the same piece of wood Ta shapes what he says is his "child"—a longish piece of wood with a knob representing the head. He inserts the child in the coffin. Finally, he makes a lid and with it carefully covers over the child inside the coffin. When he has finished he stares at his work for a while. Then he removes the child and proceeds to cut coffin and lid into small sections. These sections he throws away into the bush. Now he cuts up his child-corpse, handing round pieces to several boys who have come up to play saying, "Eat my

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child here!" His own share of the child's body he places in his mouth and chews vigorously. He spits out the macerated wood, stamps on it, and goes away.

Burying games played by children are not uncommon. They generally follow immediately upon a death in the community when the children's interest is turned to corpses by fringe-participation in the funeral wake and burial. Ta's play, however, bore no relation to any actual death. It appears to have been quite spontaneous, unmotivated by immediate imitation. It is nonetheless significant, however, for the insight it gives into the adoption-frustration situation in Pukapukan society; specially significant if Freud's conceptualizations be used for approximate explanation.

IV

Enough has perhaps been said to suggest some of the overt conflict situations that the Pukapukan child has to surmount in the slow process of socialization. It may be of interest now to discuss briefly the attitudes of children to the facts of sex and also the attitudes of parents and elders in regard to the sex knowledge and sex plays of children. The discussion will show clearly that conflicts over sex are certainly not conflicts that in any way appear to ruffle the surface of Pukapukan child development. The metaphor may well be emphasized in so far as it still leaves as an open question the nature and extent of unconscious conflict and repression.

Two points may well be kept in mind in considering the sexual attitudes of Pukapukan children. First, the general attitude of the culture towards sexual activities is that these are pleasurable play activities. The attitude is realistic, sensuous but not sensual. For the Pukapukan all activities lead naturally to some form or other of sex expression. Secondly, all members of the household sleep in the same sleeping house. Where there is only one mosquito net in the house, parents and children all sleep under it. In a few houses in which a rough partition separates two rooms, parents and small children sleep in one room, older children in the other. A group of older women informants said that some parents make an effort not to let their children witness them in coitus but other parents make no effort to conceal their actions. Particular parents wait until they assume their children are asleep or else go to the bush to have intercourse. These precautions, however, prevent little. It is certain that children witness the sex act at one time or another, usually at a very early age, and are fully conversant with all that relates to sex and childbirth.

Many conversations with children between the ages of three and six years record detailed but volunteered accounts of childbirth. The children assume that childbirth is as neutral a topic of discussion as any other; just as their parents have no objection to their being present at childbirth—no objection that is, so long as they do not insist on pursuing a kitten between the legs of a parturient woman or hindering the midwife by tangling her up with a pig that is being chased. Similarly in regard to the sex act: the familiarity of children with this phase of behavior as recorded in their conversations or activities is striking in its completeness. Words referring to the sex act are continually on their tongues either by

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way of comment, gossip, or insult, just as they are continually on the tongues of adults, whether children are present or not. Typical field records are the following:

As a gang of children (ages 3 to 8) are sitting on the beach towards evening watching the fishing canoes come back from their day outside the reef, a single-seater canoe goes past. When asked who is in the canoe the children reply, "It is Elia." Lima (5:0) goes on to add: "It is Elia who copulated with Tala." He then improvises a song to the words, "It is Elia who copulated with Tala. They walked. They copulated. They played about." As Lima sings his song, the other children join in. All are sitting on the ground and as they sing, they accompany the rhythm of the song with movements of their bodies.

Olani (3:6), a girl, is sitting on the railing of the cookhouse. Her mother is inside the cookhouse nursing a baby and nearby is an older brother. Olani sings a song which all seem to enjoy. She has taken the tune from one of the hymns she hears in church and has adapted it to the following words: "They went through the bush. I guess they copulated!" This song she repeats over and over again. Her mother explains that the children playing in the bush often see couples going to, or coming back from, the back beach of the island (favourite place of assignation in Pukapuka). The children note the names of the couples and come back to the village singing improvised songs about the incident. Olani's song was looked upon by the mother as a very ordinary type of expression for her daughter.

Masturbation is extremely common among children of both sexes to the age of about 12 years. Equally common is manipulation of the sex organs, either in situations which seem to cause shyness in a child or else as a game among children. There is probably no particular point in documenting such behavior in detail. Field records include for example the following situations: three boys, the youngest 3 years, the others 6 and 7 years respectively, manipulating each other's penises when they are supposed to be observing Sabbath rest; a group of six boys between the ages of four and six years manipulating their penises and then trying to demonstrate to each other whether they can micturate with erect penises; a girl aged 12 years minding her brother (1:3) and amusing herself by making a slip knot in a coconut leaflet, slipping the noose over the boy's penis and then dragging on it hard enough to pull the boy to the ground; family plays in which a child pairs off with another of the opposite sex, the two playing at being husband and wife by manipulating each other's sex organs and imitating the sex act.

The general attitude of adults to masturbation in children and sex organ manipulation is one of good-humored toleration; that is, it is considered amusing if called to their attention. But for the most part adults never feel called upon to notice. Two exceptions only were noted to this generalization: one has been already mentioned for the boy Lima; the other exception occurred when a mother drew attention to her masturbating son in order to amuse an audience (not, however, to shame the boy). All adults know that masturbation goes on among children. It is regarded as their game, natural to children of certain ages, and that is all there is to it. There is only one reference in the folk tales to adult masturbation. This concerns the fate of certain Pukapukan husbands whose wives all left them, attracted by a gang of exceedingly handsome young men. The tale relates in great detail the practises of the de-

527 activities took place in the churchyard or near-by. Members
794 of the Seventh Day Adventists and Roman Catholic sects have
798 not been present officially at any of the games, though many of the former have attended, including their pastor, for the wrestling. The absence of the Roman Catholics severely weakened some of the teams, but the pastors of both the London Missionary Society and the Roman Catholic Church will have nothing to do with each other.

527 The long period of sports meant a certain shortage of food.
262 The men went fishing early in the morning whenever it was possible, but there was in general little fish or talo in the villages and the most that people had was nuts. Each day the spectators of the sports, and this includes almost everyone on the island, all being out to enjoy the sports, and the company of their fellows, took with them a bundle of nuts and these eaten during the day together with more nuts, or a little fish at night, constituted the sole food of most for a week. The two Saturdays gave the woman a chance to prepare talo and the men to do extended fishing.

159 Dreams.

Veti: old man 60 years old, deacon of the church, etc. Had been talking to men of the village in a village discussion. Went home to sleep. Dreamt that he saw five Chinese. All Pukapukan people were gathered together in the church for the anointing of new members. Missionary and the deacons entered. But they could not start, they had to wait for Talainga and himself and the five Chinese. Though he had seen Chinese in Pukapuka off ships that called, he wouldn't have known that these were Chinese had he not been told by the people. Finally, after a delay, Veti led the five into the church. The deacons would not speak to him, excepting only Talainga, who asked why he had kept the five out so long. The Chinese started to talk Chinese, which Veti understood. The Chinese swore at Talainga, and told Veti to swear at him too, in Chinese, but he couldn't do this. Then they swore at the deacons, and Veti entreated them to stop. Frightened he led them out of the church; the congregation came out and the dream ended.

(Both Talainga and Veti had been working very assiduously at the sessions on ethnology; in addition, Veti was dictating old mako to Talainga to record.)

Lite, MitiMoa's wife: Dreamed that she walked along to the beach where she saw her grandson. She joined him and together they went out to the reef to fish. The little boy disappeared, having fallen through a hole. She cried out for him but could not find him. Then, suddenly the hole in the reef changed into

159 a garden of beautiful flowers and a woman, dreamer's father's
brother's daughter, blossomed forth as one of the flowers.
(This informant has had many dreams of the dead, who look just as when they lived.)

159 Talainga: A recent dream related to special activity, fishing.
787 He dreamt he saw a big ship sailing over the land. On board were many Pukapukan men as well as white men. The ship sailed on to the taro beds and ever onward. As it passed him, Talainga recognised Iti and others on board and spoke to them, asking where they are going. They answered, "To the taro beds, and beyond in that direction." The ship disappeared and he dreamt that he then walked down to the beach He found that he was holding a fishline for kakai in his hands. He walked out to the sea and cast the line. He caught a fish which he tossed onto the beach.
(The day after this dream, he went fishing and caught plenty of fish. A dream of good luck, this.)

159 Talainga: After several sessions' work with Mrs. Henry [resident agent's wife] and me. [Pearl Beaglehole.]
He dreamt he was at the cricket ground (where he'd umpired women's cricket in which both Mrs. Henry and I had participated), a clearing on the road, surrounded by thick groves of coconut trees. The place was full of water. He saw a cemetery close by in which the graves were all pointing south. Nearby was a little house, which resembled a W.C. Asking whose house it was, he learned that it belonged to E. and P. [Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole] someone told him to move the house from alongside the burial ground. He hesitated to do this because the ground was so wet. Disliking the job, he and two others moved the house. Put down, the house was moved yet again by other people. Then he saw E. stood in front of the house, opened the door, and went in. The end of the dream
(Before either the dream was dreamt or related, informant had been invited by E. and P. to pay them a visit to their house, which was undoubtedly an important thing for him.)
Eliu: Dreamt of a meeting of Ngake men, who when ended took their canoes to the back of the island. Saw them in their canoes, fishing. He dreamt that he was lying in the meeting house watching the canoes. Where he was, he sank his line down into the ground. He pulled his line in thinking he had caught a kakai. But it was not a kakai, only a pala. He got hold of the jaws of the fish and told Te Ingoa to hit the fish, which the latter did, killing it. Then the dreamer threw his line again. This time he caught a whale which jumped about on the land and broke loose. He tried to catch it, and after a bit, succeeded. The whale's head was broken, and blood was

159 flowing everywhere. He became terrified of the blood. And awakened in fear.

756 Medicine men (yila).

787 Yila were sometimes rogues: : The story is told of Levi,

776 that he was fed by his aitu [malicious spirits], and never went fishing himself, these aitu bringing him all he needed. At other times, presumably when the aitu were slack on the job, Levi would watch for a woman taking food to another village. He would intercept her, lupe before her, and then in a hysteria inform the woman that his god ordered him to take away the food from her. The women, frightened of the power of Levi, and of his god, would readily obey. This he did, no matter for whom the food originally destined, whether for secular purposes, or whether it was being taken by the owner to the wale atua of her kainga to feed the priests therewith.

776 Gods- Their aid to men:

775 The following story of Milimili relates the help of Tangata-

539 no-te-Moana: Milimili was a man of Matango po [a paternal lineage]. He died, and his wife was deeply sorrowful for her husband. She wept and wept for him, and then called on her family gods, Te paki tua, and Te paki alo, (atua lauwawa, or servant gods of the major god) to help her. She left the dead body inside the house of mourning, and walked round the outer beach calling on her gods to go to the underworld and bring back to its body the soul of the husband. These two family gods went to the Po [Underworld] and consulted with Tangata-no-te-moana about the matter. Tangata made further enquiries but found out that Milimili's soul was already caught in the mat of Leva. The gods sitting round the house of Leva had already sensed the existance of a strange soul, and were telling Leva to kill the soul so that it could never return to the upper world. Leva was sorry for the soul and was temporising with the gods. Just then Tangata appeared and to divert the gods' attention from the soul of Milimili, he asked Tulikalo to play on his wooden gong. Tulikalo played once, and then stopped. The gods asked about the soul. Tulikalo played a second time, but still the gods kept asking whether the soul was entrapped. Tulikalo played a third time, but still the gods were not satisfied. Then Tangata asked Tulikalo to play long, hard and furiously. Tulikalo beat his gong so long and loud, that the gods were deafened by the soul and began to go blind also. The house of Leva began to quake and tremble with the sound waves vibrating against the walls. Tangata went outside the house and began to push at the walls. This caused them to shake more and more, so that the gods got alarmed and began to rush outside. As they did this, Tangata

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522 Humor.

Loite, the matakivikivi, crosspatch of Motu Ko, had just returned from Wale this during the stay of the Ngake villagers in their rich islet. In characteristic fashion, enhancing the merits of her village motu, at the cost of the other two villages, reported that Wale, as usual, was awful; nothing to eat there. "Ko pupu wua i latou lemu." "Their anuses merely flatulate." She accompanied the remark with the proper noise from her mouth. The point being, of course, that the other people had no food to eat and consequently could pass no feces. She laughed heartily at her joke.

597 Adoption.

593 Mata and Leleau's adopted child, Lima, came back from
159 school, took off his shorts and started down the road in the direction of Loto village. Mata screamed after him, and, seeing that he wasn't coming back, she ran after him, and after a while came back. Lima, who had been whipped, came running along in front of her crying hard. He went right into the house and she shut two doors on him.

I asked her what Lima had done, and she answered that after having been gone all morning, and coming home late from school to boot, here he was going to leave them (maka: throw them away), her and Leleau, and go off to his parents in Loto. He never stayed home with his adopted parents; this was her grievance. In point of fact, when the child came back from school, Mata paid no attention to him, Leleau was away.

A similar sentiment was expressed shortly afterward by another woman, Matala, the adopted mother of Vaimau. While we were talking, the little boy appeared. She asked him where he'd been. He said to the mate (house of death) in the next village. She then asked him why he had maka's thrown over, left Akalili, his adopted father, like that. (Akalili was nowhere in sight.) It seems from these examples that foster parents exert every effort to keep their adopted children from visiting their real parents too much, to keep these children for themselves.

524 Introduced toys and games.

177 Marbles, pei, are made from wetau wood, and are about 20 mms. in diameter. A square or oblong is marked out on the ground, Kokoti te ala, and the stake marbles, tuku, are placed in the ala. Tuku te pei ki lunga ko te ala. From the distance of a fathom or more, the contestants throw their tore [?] marbles, tamou, towards the ala. Throw or shoot the marble is pata. The man whose tamou is nearer the ala shoots

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Lua is 34 years of age. She is friendly, intelligent, and capable. She was one of our best informants, and her honesty is unquestioned. 115

LUA'S STORY

My parents, now deceased, were members of Loto village. I was their first child, born in 1902, when they were both fairly young. Four children were born subsequently but all died. My parents never adopted other children. I was adopted soon after birth by an old couple who had also adopted my father when he was a boy. I lived permanently with this couple from the time when my adopted mother weaned me. I learned at about the age of five that they were not my real parents. No one, as I remember, told me of the fact of my adoption, but on those occasions when my real parents took me to their house for a day I noticed that they treated me differently from my adopted parents. They seemed much kinder to me and much more loving. In some way I must have sensed the situation. I cannot say now very definitely how they treated me but I must have been gradually impressed by something or other. Later on, other children commented to me on the way I was going to my blood-parents and then I was certain. I was always happy to see them. 159 [165] [597] 159 593 597

Shortly after this my adopted father died. I felt pity for my adopted mother thereafter, but I really longed to be with my blood-parents. My adopted mother was uniformly kind to me. The old lady was specially solicitous about me whenever I got into quarrels, and always sought out the one who injured me in childish squabbles and scolded her soundly. This was quite noteworthy, because other parents were not so concerned for their children and let them get on with their companions as best they could.

My visits to my blood-parents became infrequent and continued so until the death of my adopted mother which occurred when I was about 12 years old. I remember the death-scene and the mourning-wake, but it was just like other wakes and I cannot remember my feelings at the time. After this I returned to live permanently with my blood-parents. Then it was that the last child was born to my mother. I remember this. I with other children stood 159 593

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159 watching the delivery. For some reason it was an extremely
593 difficult birth and I became terribly frightened by what I
[845] saw. The child was born dead, but my mother soon became well again.

I loved my father much more than I loved my mother. My mother was never unkind to me, but it was my father who did most for me and gave me all the little things that I wanted. This is the reason I loved him more. My father not only sewed up clothes for me, but he washed them as well so that I would always have a clean dress for school or church. I do not think that I ever wished to marry him.

159 I remember that as a child I was especially frightened
775 of old people. When I passed them on the road or in the
888 bush it always seemed as if they were threatening me with knives, as if they wished to cut me up. I was afraid of ghosts too, like everyone else. Adults always frightened children, and children each other, with the cry, "Look out for the ghost!"

159 As a girl I loved to play at having babies. We used
857 immature coconuts as babies just as the little girls do today.
524 Sometimes only girls played this game, at other times both girls and boys, aged 10 years or so. We played at marriage and intercourse. After a pretended cohabitation, the girl-mother stuffed the coconut inside her dress and realistically gave birth to her child, imitating labor-pains and letting the nut fall at the proper moment. My mother did not like me to
[861] play this game, and she whipped me whenever she caught me at it. But I played it frequently all the same, because all the girls thought it was the best game. Other games we played were those that are common today, such as hide and seek, guessing games, water sports, and the game of a mock court where people are arrested by policemen for committing adultery (the game of *wai tule* that the children of Yato told you that they played all the time during their recent stay at their reserve islet of Motu Kotawa). I had many girl friends as a child, and we used to play together during most of every day.

159 When I was about 12 years old my father died in Samoa. Several years after this my mother married a man younger than herself. I was glad to have a new father for a change.

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These two, however, went to Rarotonga, and I went to live with my paternal uncle.

It was about this time while my mother was away that I started to menstruate. I suppose I must have been about 16 years old, much older I think than other girls when they start their periods. I was very frightened when I first saw the blood, because no one had told me in advance what to expect. I think most girls are frightened at this time. Two years after this I married.

During these years before my marriage I had many girl friends. One girl, Tolu, older than I and who married before me, was my special friend. We helped each other with special tasks. If one had to collect firewood or harvest *taro* from the gardens then the other would go along too. We often shared our food together. I helped Tolu with her courtship. She would ask me to come and sleep with her on those nights when she wanted to go off to the bush with her lover. When the boy came to the house, Tolu would pinch me and tell me to answer for her should her mother or anyone call to ask if she was safe at home. At this time I did not meet boys or men in the bush. I was very fond of Tolu and when we slept together we would hug each other. I was never annoyed when Tolu went off with men. I was much more proud that I was in her secret and knew something that others did not know.

Before I had menstruated for the first time I had many meetings with young men in the bush. They happened like this. When I was 14 or 15 and living in my father's brother's household, my uncle went to stay for a time with a sick sister in Yato village. In the evening I used to take him his food from our house. Going across the causeway that joins the eastern and western sections of Yato I was grabbed by a young man who asked me where I was going. I said I was taking food to my father. He said, " Hurry, I'll be waiting for you here." I said to him, " No, I'm going to sleep there." Then I passed him by and went to my father. Later in the evening when I returned he was waiting for me. He was a Yato villager, two years older than I, and distantly related, being my mother's mother's father's brother's daughter's daughter's son. He said to me that we should both go to the bush. I told him no, saying that I had not menstruated

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159 836 yet and that I was afraid that intercourse would prevent my menses from starting. We argued together for a while, he urging me to come with him and I asked to be allowed to go home. Then he asked me where I slept. I told him on top of the house platform on such-and-such a side. "But," I said, "don't come yet; wait till everyone is asleep. My sister will see you now because we sleep together." We separated then. I went to bed in my house, lying with my sister on the platform, the elders sleeping below. I didn't sleep but lay listening. He entered, stumbled and made a noise. I was very frightened. He climbed up on to the platform, but my parents heard the creaking and began to stir, asking who was making the noise. The young man hurriedly slipped out of the house. He was frightened too. I often saw him after this but I never had intercourse with him.

On another occasion I and a girl friend named Wa went to the beach near the causeway in the early evening. Coming back along the lagoon we saw two people some distance away and we took them to be the village policeman and his wife. As we came near we found they were two young men who grabbed us as we tried to pass them. We could not run away. I told the boys that my father would whip them for interfering with us. The boys said, "You won't go home; we'll stay and all go to the bush. You girls will enjoy it." We said we would go home first and see if our parents were asleep, then the two boys could come for us. The boys agreed. Then the curfew gong sounded and we began to go off home, but the boys would not let us go. They held onto our arms. The policeman came along the beach and saw all four of us together. I was frightened, ran home, closed the house door behind me and fastened it. Then the policeman came to the house and scolded me. My father woke up and asked me what the policeman wanted. I said I did not know. My father went to sleep again and I was so frightened by the boys that I never went to the bush with them at any time.

On another occasion still, I and my two sisters[2] Wa and Lima called in at a house where only one young man happened

[2] These girls were her classificatory sisters, just as when Lua refers to her parents or father in these last paragraphs she means her classificatory parents.

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to be sitting. He said to us, "Shall we go?" He meant to the bush, of course. We said to him, "We're three, you're one." He said, no, he could easily find two more boys. We agreed to this and promised to watch for the three boys after our parents were asleep. The boys came to our house late at night. One of them grabbed Wa's feet. She pinched us and told us to get up and come along. We went off with the boys to a deserted place on the outer beach where lovers often meet. We got there and then coupled off. The first boy with whom we had arranged the meeting took me. I protested against this. I said to him, " I don't want you. You're a fellow who has had intercourse with other women long before this." He argued with me. Another boy chose Wa but Wa would not have him. The third got Lima but she would not have him. The boys got angry with us. " Are you just infants?" they said. " Yes, we are just children," we girls answered together. We were very stubborn. The boys got disgusted with us and simply walked off leaving us in the dark bush by ourselves. Then we got angry in turn and went home.

There seem to have been many instances of this sort of ineffective love-making in my early career. Somehow or other, I always got frightened or something went wrong.

Shortly after my first menses my sister Tolu suggested that it would be a good idea for me to marry her brother. I did not want this. My mind was already set on Ono. One day Ono sent a child with a message asking me to come and talk with him. I went to him that night and he asked me to marry him. I liked Ono but I was afraid my adopted parents would not agree to our marriage. Ono was a man of Ngake village and they wanted me to marry someone from Loto. Ono was confident he could win over my parents by talking to them. I told him to try. He asked and was refused. He spoke to me another night saying he would wait and be patient. We met regularly at night. We hugged and embraced but I was afraid to have intercourse with him. Ono asked my parents a second time to be allowed to marry me but again they refused. Later however they asked me whether I still wished to marry Ono. I said yes. Then they said they would leave it up to me.

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159 584 836 I went to the bush with Ono and talked to him. He asked me to go to Motu Ko, to the reserve islet of Ngake village, when the people went there to make copra, instead of staying at home and going with the villagers of Lotc to their reserve of Uta. Because my mother and step-father were Ngake villagers I could go with them to Motu Ko without causing comment and in this way I could meet Ono. I arranged this and met Ono the first night we spent at the copra village. I had intercourse with Ono that night. I was frightened this first time. Ono told me it might hurt but it didn't. We met in a place where there were no other people present. Except during my periods we had intercourse every night, four, three, or two times a night. That is not very often. A woman can keep it up as long as, or longer than a man. We were very young and enjoyed our nightly visits to the deserted places on the outer beach. After we returned from the reserve I continued to see Ono in the bush. Then my mother died and soon afterwards we were married. [833]

159 I do not remember much about Ono when he was a boy. When I would go swimming with my girl friends in the pool I often saw Ono there swimming with the boys. I think I fancied him then. He was not like the other boys. He did not come near me in the pool and I liked him for not doing this. What attracted me about him was his height. He was very tall for a Pukapukan and he had a lot of brown hair. Maybe he was like my father but I don't remember this.

159 593 We were married in 1918. Ono died in 1929. We never quarrelled and he was always very good to me. I was never unfaithful to him and he never went with other women. Maybe I have said only the best about him, because now I begin to recall our life together I remember that he had a terrible temper. He whipped me once with a stick when he was unjustly suspicious of my visits to the bush to get *taro* from my gardens. All men whip their wives at one time or another, all Pukapukan men, at any rate, because they are very suspicious; but Ono did not do it very much to me, and I suppose that is why I at first forgot it. Ono's father lived with us for a while. Then Ono quarrelled with the old man, [837]

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who was easily angered, and he went to live in another house.

After we had been married for some time Ono told me to have a child. I was afraid I could not. I thought that my mind was not sufficiently set on having a child. But after two years I bore a son. I wanted the first child to be a girl, Ono wanted a boy. We had intercourse almost every night without exception right up to the time that labor pains set in. The delivery was hard. It lasted a day, a night, and until noon the next day. Ono helped me with his arms, holding me and giving me all the support I needed. My milk came in three days. It was plentiful. We waited for a month after the delivery until the blood and water had dried up before having intercourse again. The second child, a boy, and the third, a girl, came along after this and I cannot remember anything special. Our fourth child, a boy, died after he had reached the crawling stage. Soon after the birth of the fifth child, another boy, Ono died.

We buried Ono in his family cemetery. Not long after this, Witu, whose wife was dead, came to court me as did many other men. They thought that I would make a good wife for them because I had so many children. I did not like the way the men came to the house at night because I thought the children would wake and see us together. When Witu asked me to marry him I agreed because I wanted someone to be a father to my children. Witu had had a son by his first wife but the child was dead. I took my children and went to live in Witu's house, the house where we are living now down by the pond. Witu is a good husband to me. He is never angry. He is always pleasant. He is a good fisherman. He is a good lover. These two babies that I have now, they are Witu's sons. He is delighted with them. That is why you always see him playing with them if he is home when you come to our house.